6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

From its very inception the Russian state was a military Soci-
721 ety. The military campaigns and territorial expansion were
565 needed in this society to provide land to pay for the services of
181 a class of military nobility whose chief occupation was state service and warfare, not land cultivation. War gave the Czar an opportunity to distribute land grants, to bestow ranks and offices and to win the support of the nobility. At the same time warfare offered an opportunity for the nobles to exert more personal power, to release their destructive urges, and to compensate for indignities and humiliations to which they were constantly exposed on the part of superiors in rank and office. Thus, by engaging these people in constant warfare the Czars directed their aggressive impulses against the enemy instead of against the ruler. The wars were not only a means of occupying a potentially restless and turbulent military class, but they were necessary to enhance the Czar's prestige, to solidify his rule, and to impress his subjects with the idea of his might and invincibility.

723 In such circumstances, prolonged and costly wars were to be avoided. The military nobility, whose loyalty to the Czar was conditioned upon his power and favors, could not be completely depended upon to remain loyal to the Czar under adverse conditions or in defeat. Therefore, in military campaigns the em-
725 phasis had to be put on numerical superiority over the enemy. Another way of fighting the enemies was to frighten them into retreat by sudden and unexpected attacks from ambush combined with wild sounds of the drums, trumpets and shouting, in Mongol fashion. Soldiers and officers were ready to flee if the enemy showed considerable resistance. Their preference was fighting from a distance, or from a place of advantage from where they could annoy the enemy, but hurt themselves least.[16] Hence their most common way of taking cities and fortresses
[726] was by a siege, in the course of which they would force the population to surrender by means of mass starvation, or by provoking internal dissensions and treachery.[17] Small, weak and unprotected adversaries would be threatened into submission by "psychological warfare" methods without even resorting to an open war.[18]

727 In earlier days, the means employed to keep conquered people
636 in submission were the same as those practiced toward Russian

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.[1]

However, from the seventeenth century on, Russia's expansion, which was earlier oriented mainly toward the East, turned westward. The wars with the West which heretofore were mainly defensive, tended to acquire an increasingly offensive character. But the wars with the advanced Western countries were more difficult and much more costly than those with the economically and technologically backward Asiatics. The defeats which Russia suffered at the hands of the Swedes and Poles made it imperative for the Czars to increase the military effectiveness of their country to meet the challenge. This need dictated changes in the internal structure of the Czardom, in the direction of administrative and industrial advance along European patterns. Even before Peter the Great, measures had been taken in this direction. But it was Peter who dramatized the issue by himself going abroad as an apprentice in Western industries to become "the first carpenter of the Empire."

In accordance with such need the old system of administration based on service nobility was replaced by a system of salaried officials (*chinovnichestvo*). According to this *chin* (civil rank) system which was introduced by Peter the Great and which followed the Western pattern it was no longer necessary to belong to the dvorianstvo class in order to obtain state service. On the contrary, any one who served faithfully and efficiently could rise in chin and rank and thus obtain the status of a hereditary or of a personal *dvoryanin*, without even owning land. In this way a new salaried military and bureaucratic caste, entirely dependent upon the Czar, was growing at the expense of the landed dvorianstvo. As a result, the dvoryanin-guardsman, the chief state functionary of the eighteenth century, was replaced by the *chinovnik*-commoner in the nineteenth century. Chinovnichestvo absorbed and replaced dvorianstvo—just as earlier the dvorianstvo had absorbed and replaced boyarstvo. Now bureaucracy instead of military nobility became the main instrument of governing.[2]

This change in the structure of the Czardom, however, was accomplished from above, that is, by means of imperial decrees,

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia: RF1

of international Communism. "In our times," said Stalin before the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, "it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak. . . . consideration is only given to the strong." The Party therefore undertook to drill millions of subjects in the use of arms and to develop an imposing army of professional soldiers.

The need of militarization of the entire population has been reflected in the Bolshevik ideology of total war. As early as the nineteen twenties the Bolshevik military strategist and Commissar of Defense, Mikhail Frunze, developed the theory of mobilization of the entire population and of regimentation of all aspects of life as a means of war preparation.[62] As a result of such a trend of thought pre-military training has been introduced into public schools and many teaching subjects have been oriented toward military thinking. Also the Party has sponsored and supported private organizations to promote physical fitness and military training (*Ossoaviokhim*) on a mass scale.

The need of the ruling faction to use military training as a school of obedience, loyalty, leadership, and war preparedness dictated also the policies concerning the system of military training. Consequently earlier ideas of fraternization and equality of ranks developed as a response to the longing for an anarchic brotherhood were attacked as "false democracy"; instead strict military discipline has been introduced and embodied in minute military regulations.[63] As a result very heavy and hard punishments have been provided for slightest breaches in discipline.

The military regulations now demand unquestionable obedience of the subordinate to his superior, and immediate and literal execution of his command regardless of what that command may be: "The order of the commander is law for the subordinate. The order must be fulfilled without question, literally and immediately."[64] To insure such unconditional obedience the military regulations authorize Soviet officers to use harsh means to cope with lapses of discipline. These include not only ordinary punishments, but physical beatings and even killing "in an emergency, when there is no time to spare." Significantly enough, the term "officer" was discarded and has been substituted by that of "commander."

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

of human lives. Soviet military policies are little concerned about systematic rotation of units, facilities for recreation, short leaves and furloughs, regular correspondence with home folks, or with the development of techniques to avoid exposure of men to unnecessary risks.[27] As a result of such attitudes the toll of a Soviet division in war time might come up to 90 percent of its men.[28] Even more indifference is shown toward men who were made prisoners, since "they had surrendered and could not fight any more."[29]

IV

Destructive aggressiveness might become self-destructive unless turned outward. Hence constant internal pressure, intrinsic to Soviet power structure, for aggression against the outside world. A policy of external aggressiveness is likely to provoke external threats against which the accumulating hostilities of the subjects can be mobilized. Successful external aggression is also a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and to solidify its rule. The policy of aggression against the outside world implies also the urgency to enhance external security should the policy of expansion provoke international complications.

Early in the development of Bolshevik rule the Communist International and the Communist parties throughout the world have been regimented and employed as instruments of this policy of external expansion, as well as a means of defense against external pressures. It was in accordance with such a trend of events that the Program of the Communist International of 1928, as well as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International of 1935,[30] emphasized complete identification of the world proletariat with the Soviet power:

> Our road is the road of revolution of the peoples against the oppressors and exploiters. Our will is the will of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our goal is socialism for the whole of humanity. Our main slogan is the establishment of Soviet power.[31]

In accordance with such need for outward aggression as a relief of internal destructive tensions an ideological distinction

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

has been made between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The first is said to be an "unjust war" of imperialists, exploiters and war mongers, the latter is a movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke or from colonial oppression. It is said that in this "just struggle" of the peoples of the world against oppressors the Soviet Union will unselfishly interfere with its armies to help the people to liberate themselves and also to protect liberated peoples from counter-revolution. It is therefore the duty of the working class and of "progressive-minded people" all over the world to strengthen the might of the Soviet Fatherland as "the center of international revolution":

> Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants, and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism . . . the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.[33]

In order to make Communist parties a tool of this new "Third Rome" ideology all these parties had to follow in their internal organization the Bolshevik pattern of rigid centralism and of unconditional obedience of all the subordinate organs to the higher bodies.[35] Each local Party had to be centralized in such a manner that its leadership was "endowed with complete power, authority, and ample rights" which would enable it to impose "an iron discipline" over its members.[34] All members were expected to accept such centralized Party leadership with absolute power and to "submit to its dictates."[35] This was possible only if "the strictest military discipline" and "unconditional subordination" were established within the ranks of each Communist Party:

> . . . The Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

648 665 ●721 It was such thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated Party organizations whose leaderships comprised a hard core of violent and unscrupulous fanatics without bonds of personal or local attachment but unconditionally subservient to the Kremlin, that became a powerful instrument in the international aggression of Bolshevism. Promising Utopias to all disgruntled, rejected and disaffected, such parties became the main instrument of the Soviet Union in its territorial annexations, as well as in the formation of a ring of satellite states. The objective of this expansion was always the same: to turn outward the internal tensions, to enhance the economic, the strategic, and the military potential of the Soviet Union, and to increase the power and influence of the Bolshevik hierarchy at home and abroad.

V

665 829 648 701 New modifications in Bolshevik ideology were necessary to explain such policies. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are now said to be unable by themselves alone to overthrow local bourgeoisies or to prevent a counter-revolution after capitalism has been overthrown. These parties therefore need active help of the Soviet armed forces not only to overthrow the capitalist class, but also to eliminate the possibility of counter-revolution and to protect the national independence of the newly formed Communist controlled states—the "People's Democracies." This "liberating" and "protecting" role of the Soviet Army and complete dependence of liberated states upon the Soviet Union is a replica of the dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships on which the Soviet Union itself has been founded. The dependent states are expected to be ready to defend and protect the Soviets "unconditionally and without hesitation." Such a system of Moscow-satellite relationships is considered so overwhelmingly important by the Kremlin rulers that they demand that their satellite leaders constantly emphasize even in fundamental state laws their dependency upon and subordination to the Soviet Union:

The armed might of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from the yoke of German fascism, smashed the landlords and the capitalistic anti-popular state powers, and opened to our working